

CHARLES LANGLAS AND JEFFREY LYON

Davida Malo's Unpublished Account of Keōpūolani

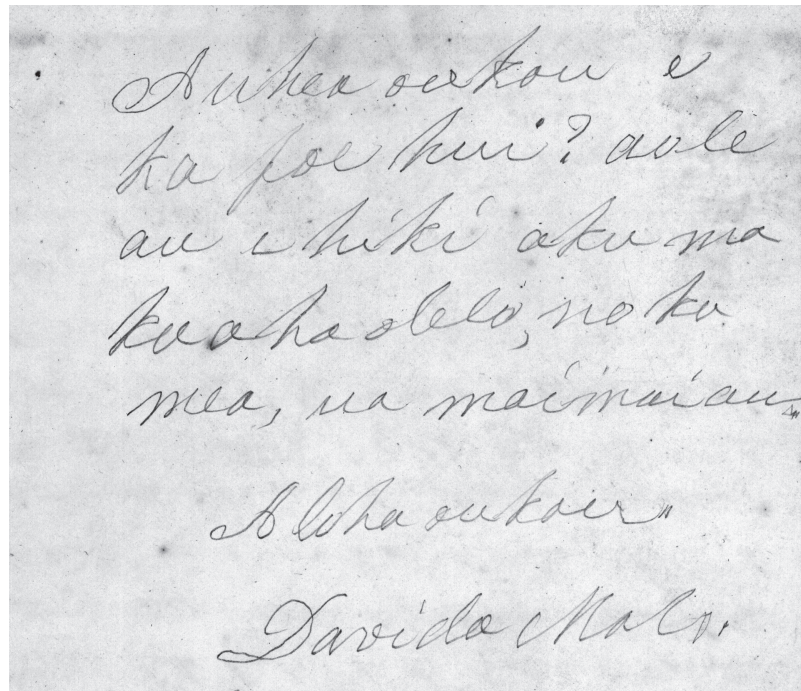
WE RECENTLY CAME ACROSS an important account of the life of Keōpūolani written by Davida Malo and deposited in the archives of the Bishop Museum. Malo's account is reproduced below in its original, handwritten form (figs. 1–3), as transcribed in Hawaiian and in English translation. He wrote it in 1842, apparently to read before the 'Ahahui 'Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai'i Nei, the first Hawaiian historical society, of which he was a member. On the outside of his account are written the words, "*Auhea oukou e ka poe hui? Aole au e hiki aku ma ka ahaolelo, no ka mea, ua maimai au*" (Attention you people of the association. I won't be coming to the conference, because I'm feeling ill).

The 'Ahahui was formed at Lahaina in 1841 under the patronage of Mō'i (King) Kūikeyouli by a group consisting of the missionary teachers at Lahainaluna School, including Sheldon Dibble, some of their former Lahainaluna students, and several *ali'i*.¹ Lahainaluna School had been established in 1831 by the missionaries as an

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Note Signed by Malo on Outside of His Handwritten Account of Keōpūolani. He notes that he is feeling too ill to attend the conference at which this account of Keōpūolani would probably have been presented (*Auhea oukou e ka poe hui? Aole au e hiki aku ma ka ahaolelo, no ka mea, ua maimai au. Aloha oukou. Davida Malo*).

advanced school to train teachers for the many schools they established in Hawai‘i. In 1836, Dibble established a seminar for ten senior students to record Hawaiian history. They collected information from knowledgeable elders and then their essays were put together and published by Dibble in 1838 as *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. Among those senior students were Davida Malo and Samuel Kamakau, and both of them became members of the ‘Ahahui. It was the practice of ‘Ahahui members to write essays to be read at the meetings. Malo read an essay on ‘Umialiloa to the group, according to Kamakau.² Malo presumably had considerable knowledge of Keōpūolani’s life as a basis for writing this essay. He was her teacher on O‘ahu prior to 1823 and a fellow student of her daughter Nāhi‘ene‘ena when learning English.

He apparently accompanied Keōpūolani to Lahaina when she moved there in 1823.³ He may have also conferred with Ulumāheihei, her last husband who was still alive up until 1840 and living at Lahaina.⁴ It seems particularly appropriate that Malo's account, read to the first Hawaiian historical society, should now be published in the Hawaiian Journal of History, the journal of the third and current Hawaiian Historical Society.⁵

As Esther Mookini says in her 1998 article, relatively little is known of Keōpūolani, although she was an important figure in Hawai'i during the reign of Kamehameha and the reign of his son Liholiho. Keōpūolani was important mainly because of her high rank. As the highest ranking wife of Kamehameha, she gave birth to his heirs Liholiho and Kaiuikēaouli who became the rulers of Hawai'i after him (Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III). In terms of shaping the politics of Hawai'i, it seems that Keōpūolani was generally overshadowed by Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's more politically active wife. Kame'eleihewa has presented a persuasive analysis of the events following the death of Kamehameha, relying mainly on Kamakau's accounts.⁶ She argues that Ka'ahumanu was the organizing force behind ending both the *kapu* system and the traditional *kālai'āina* distribution of land by a new monarch to his supporters, although she acted in concert with both Keōpūolani and Kalanimoku.⁷

Keōpūolani did act politically on several occasions, and because of her very high rank her actions were probably critical. After the death of Kamehameha, the *ali'i* of his court at Kailua under the leadership of Ka'ahumanu acted to end the '*ai kapu*' by which men ate with the male gods as part of religious services and women were required to eat separately from men. During the ten day mourning period after Kamehameha's death, the '*ai kapu*' was suspended, as was commonly done after the death of a ruling *ali'i*. The usual custom was for the new ruler to re-instate the '*ai kapu*' on assuming his position after the mourning period ended, but Ka'ahumanu and the other *ali'i* had planned instead for the male and female *ali'i* to eat publicly together, thus ending the *luakini* temple ritual and the rank *kapu* which were major elements supporting chiefly rule. When Ka'ahumanu called publicly for an end to the '*ai kapu*' at Liholiho's coronation, Liholiho held back. At that time Keōpūolani supported Ka'ahumanu by sending for her son, Liholiho's younger brother Kaiuikēaouli, to eat with her in violation of

10. Lahaina. Iulai, 29, 1842.
Ko ka hanau aia, o Keopūolani.
I ka la i hoouka ai, ke hana ia ~~hana~~
ia pūnani nei; oia ka hanau ana o Keopūolani
i paipahaku, kahi i hanau ai, a ma hope
i ho. Kēle a hū la o Kiwala'o, a me ke ke la o
kalani, a me Lilitika, a noho i Kana, me Keopū-
olani no, malaila i^{no}ho ai, a holo o Kiwala'o i Hawaii
noho i ho no o Keopūolani i Kana, a hiki a hū
o Kāhahiki, i ke hana ia ka pihao nei; enoho
ana no o Keopūolani i Kāpūmiki, i Kana a pau ia
noho ana, a me ia hana ana, a hoi maila o
Kāhahiki, a me Keopūolani, i Waiāluhu, a noho i la-
ila, a ma hope, holo hoi o Kāhahiki a me Keopūo-
lani, i ke hana i Oahu, o Kāpūmiki hii; hānau
oia hana ana, a hana kahahai; hoo no ho ia
o Keopūolani, i laila, aole nae i laila, ka noho ana
i laila, hii ia mai a holo ana i Oahu, o ka he
ana noia; o ke hana, o Kāhahiki hii i hana ai, me
Kāhahiki; a pau aia ke hana ana, a pau no ho
i holo, o Keopūolani, me ke kupa wa hine, me Ka-
lani, ma Oahu, a laila ka noho ana, malaila, a hoi
mai no o Kāhahiki, a hoi laila, a hiki mai ke hana
ia Kāhahiki nei; ke hana nui ia, o ka meha-
mecha mai ko Hawaii, o Kāhahiki pūle ko Waiāluhu
ia manana, a nui o Keopūolani ma, naauao i ka la
i hee ai ia Keopūolani, ia pūho a hii ia a hū
la, o Keopūolani, o Kāhahiki a hū a hū o hū hāc me-
hā o laila waale no o hanae, a pau ia hana ana la
a laila hūla, a laila, oia ka lilo a va o Keopūolani ia
Kāhahiki; a hēle a hū la, o ka mecha mecha, a me Ke-
opūolani, a me Kāhahiki, ke kupa wa hine, o Keopūolani
a hana kahahai; a hana no ho a va i laila.

FIG. 1. The first page of Malo's original manuscript about Keōpūolani's life. Bishop Museum (H1 H107.10 'ao'ao 1).

o Kamehameha, i Hawaii, a hele pu me Keopūolani
i Hawaii, hoapapa ia Kaula, ia hoi ara, a he
Kaula ana; alaila hoi maila, a hōna no ho, a mai pona
mai, a he ahi, o Kaula o Keopūolani, i laila ha
hi i moe ai o Kamehameha me Keopūolani, oia ha
lilo ana o Keopūolani, i wahine na Kamehameha
aole nae laila i noho hane a na ho wahine maoli
o ka laila a na i hola no hane, a he noho e no, me
ho aole noho pu, a ia no aha he alaila hele ahula
a mai pela hūlilo a na i wahine nana, a mai i
hope mai, hao i po i po o Keopūolani, me Kalaimoku
a mai hope mai hele o Kamehameha i Kila, i laila
hoao o Kalaimoku, me Keopūolani, i wahine nana
ia Kahi Kapa hope nei, o Kahi meke no he hane
ne i hāhā, a hāhā nei no o Kamehameha e moe
a hopu i ke heiki mumukū a Kamehameha, a mai
hope mai holo i Oahu, o Kaula ia Kaula, a he
a laila hoi, hāhā, ia heiki, mumukū, a lilo
ia Kaula hāhā, o ka Keopūolani hāhā ia
aole i laila hoi a na, a mahe i hola, no ho i hola a ho
lo o Kamehameha i Kaula aole nae i hiki i Kaula
o Kaula i waho ia holo a na, o Kalaimoku no he
hane i hāhā aole nae he heiki mai no ho ana
a lōhe ia na mahe ha, he hāhā ia; a hoi mai
la o Kamehameha i Hawaii, a hāhā ia i hola
a mahe, o na mahe ha; a hāhā i hāhā, ia
Kaula, alaila hāhā, o Keopūolani, ia lilo
liho, i mahe a hāhā i hāhā. 8 hōla a Kamehameha
hāhā ia Kalaimoku no o Keopūolani, a hāhā no
o Kamehameha, e moe a hōno he heiki, a Kamehameha
ha, a mahe, hāhā, o Kalaimoku, ia Keopūolani, alilo
ia, hāhā, a mahe i hō o ka hāhā a na o
Kalaimoku, ia Keopūolani, hāhā i hola, o Keopūo-
lani ia Oahu o Kaula i po i po, ia hāhā hāhā oia
hāhā oia hele a na, a hāhā mai a Honolulu i hāhā

FIG. 2. The second page of Malo's original manuscript about Keōpūolani's life. Bishop Museum (H1 H107.10 'ao'ao 2).

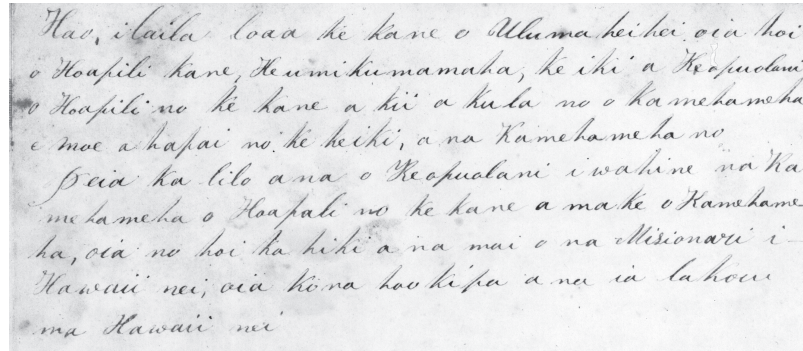


FIG. 3. The third page of Malo's original manuscript about Keōpūolani's life. Bishop Museum (H1 H107.10 'ao'ao 3).

the *'ai kapu*.⁸ She had earlier encouraged Liholiho to join in by putting her hand to her mouth as a sign to participate.⁹ Liholiho did not eat with the women on that occasion, but some months later he did give in.¹⁰ However, Kamehameha's nephew Kekuaokalani, to whom Kamehameha had given the care of his war god Kūkā'ilimoku, did refuse. Instead, he decided to maintain the traditional religious rites at Kealakekua, an act which challenged the authority of Liholiho's rule as well as his decision to end the *'ai kapu*. Keōpūolani acted at that time by deciding suddenly to accompany two representatives sent by Liholiho's court to Kealakekua to try to persuade Kekuaokalani to end his rebellion and come to Kailua. When they failed to persuade Kekuaokalani, she told him that their family tie was broken, implying that they would have to fight.¹¹ Kamakau says that if she had not gone there, the war between Liholiho's side and Kekuaokalani's would have been delayed and Liholiho might have lost.¹²

Her other important political actions concerned the Congregational missionaries who came to Hawai'i in 1820. When the missionaries first arrived they asked Liholiho and the *ali'i* for permission to stay in Hawai'i. Many were hesitant, but Keōpūolani welcomed them.¹³ Later, she was one of the first of the *ali'i* to convert to Christianity and the first to be baptized by the Congregational missionaries. As the highest ranking *ali'i* of her time, her embracing of Christianity set a crucial seal of approval on the missionaries and their god.

Although the information available on Keōpūolani's life is limited,

there are several primary sources of information in addition to Malo's essay. The most important of those sources is the *Memoir of Keopuolani* (1825) written by the missionary William Richards. Richards came to Hawai'i with the second company of Congregational missionaries in 1823. When Keōpūolani moved to Lahaina later that year, she asked him and fellow missionary Charles Stewart to go with her to teach her about Christianity. She died that same year, so Richards' acquaintance with her was short, but he was made the guardian of her children Kauikeaouli and Nāhi'ena'ena. Richards' account agrees with Malo's on some important points. The other important primary sources are the well known historical accounts by Kamakau (original 1866–69), 'Ī'i (original 1868–70), and Fornander (original 1879).¹⁴ Two recent articles which describe Keōpūolani's life by Sinclair in 1971 and Mookini in 1998 are based mainly on these primary sources.¹⁵ Neither article makes reference to Malo's essay and presumably neither writer knew of its existence.

TRANSCRIBED AND MODERNIZED HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE TEXT

[‘ao‘ao 1]

Lahaina: Iulai, 29, 1842¹⁶

No ka hānau ‘ana o Keōpūolani

I ka lā i ho‘ouka ai ke kaua iā

Kapu‘unoni nei, ‘o ia ka hānau ‘ana o Keōpūolani

- 1.5 i Pāpōhaku, kahi i hānau ai. A ma hope
iho, hele akula ‘o Kīwala‘ō, a me Kekelao-
kalani, a me Liliha, a noho i Hāna me Keōpū-
olani nō, ma laila i noho ai. A holo ‘o Kīwala‘ō i Hawai‘i,
1.10 noho iho nō ‘o Keōpūolani i Hāna. A hiki aku
‘o Kahekili i ke kaua iā Kapīka‘o nei, e noho
ana nō ‘o Keōpūolani i Kapu‘uiki i Hāna. A pau ia
noho ‘ana a me ia kaua ‘ana, a ho‘i maila ‘o
Kahekili a me Keōpūolani i Wailuku a noho i la-
1.15 ʻila. A ma hope, holo hou ‘o Kahekili a me Keōpūola-
ni i ke kaua i O‘ahu, ‘o Ka‘ōpuaki‘iki‘i ka inoa
o ia kaua ‘ana; a Kaunakahakai, ho‘onoho ‘ia
‘o Keōpūolani i laila; ‘a‘ole na‘e i li‘uli‘u ka noho ‘ana
i laila, ki‘i ‘ia mai a holo ana i O‘ahu, ‘o ka he‘e

- 1.20 'ana nō ia o ke kaua, 'o Walia ke ali'i i kaua ai me Kahekili. A pau a'ela ke kaua 'ana, noho ihola 'o Keōpūolani me ke kupuna wahine, me Kalola, ma O'ahu. A lō'ihī ka noho 'ana ma laila, a ho'i mai nō a Wailuku, noho i laila a hiki mai ke kaua
- 1.25 iā Ka'uwa'upālani nei. He kaua nui ia, 'o Kamehameha mai ko Hawai'i, 'o Kalaikūpule ko Maui nei i ia manawa. A nui 'o Keōpūolani mā, "na'auao i ka lā i he'e ai iā Keone'ula'ula." I ia pō iho, 'āha'i 'ia akula 'o Keōpūolani e Kalilikauoha a luna o Kūkaemoku, 'o lāua wale nō 'o Kana'e. A pau ia kaua 'ana lā
- 1.30 a lanakila, a laila, 'o ia ka lilo 'ana o Keōpūolani iā Kamehameha; a hele akula 'o Kamehameha, a me Keōpūolani, a me Kalola, ke kupuna wahine o Keōpūolani, a Kaunakahakai. A pau ia noho 'ana, a laila ho'i

['ao'ao 2]

- 'o Kamehameha i Hawai'i, a hele pū me Keōpūolani i Hawai'i, 'o Koapapa ia kaua i ia ho'i 'ana. A he'e ia kaua 'ana, a laila ho'i maila a Kona, noho, a mai Kona mai a Keawa'eli. Ua nui loa 'o Keōpūolani i laila, ka-
- 2.5 hi i moe ai 'o Kamehameha me Keōpūolani. 'O ia ka lilo 'ana o Keōpūolani i wahine na Kamehameha. 'A'ole nae lāua i noho kāne a noho wahine maoli, 'o ka lāhui 'ana ihola nō kāna, a he noho 'ē nō, noho 'ē, 'a'ole noho pū. Aia nō a kahe, a laila hele akula
- 2.10 a moe. Pēlā ka lilo 'ana i wahine nāna. A ma ia hope mai, ho'oiipoipo 'o Keōpūolani me Kalaimoku. A ma hope mai, hele 'o Kamehameha i Hilo. I laila ho'āo 'o Kalaimoku me Keōpūolani i wahine nāna. Ia wahine kapu hope nei, 'o Kalaimoku nō ke kā-
- 2.15 ne i ka 'ili. A ki'i aku nei nō 'o Kamehameha e moe, a hāpai i ke keiki mumuku a Kamehameha. A ma ia hope mai, holo i O'ahu, 'o Nu'uanu ia kaua, a he'e a lanakila ho'i, hānau ua keiki mumuku lā, a lilo iā Ka'ahumanu ka hānai. 'O kā Keōpūolani hiapo ia.
- 2.20 'A'ole i lō'ihī ke ola 'ana a make ihola. Noho ihola a holo 'o Kamehameha i Kaua'i, 'a'ole na'e i hiki i Kaua'i.

- ‘O Ka‘ie‘ie Waho ia holo ‘ana. ‘O Kalaimoku nō ke
 kāne i ka ‘ili, ‘a‘ole na‘e he keiki ma i[a] noho ‘ana.
 A lohe ‘ia a‘e ‘o Nāmakehā, he kaua ia, a ho‘i mai-
 2.25 la ‘o Kamehameha i Hawai‘i, a kaua ‘ia ihola
 a make ‘o Nāmakehā, a kau ‘ia i ka heiau, iā
 Kaipalaoa. A laila hāpai ‘o Keōpūolani iā Liho-
 liho i make akula i Kahiki. ‘Eholu a Kamehameha¹⁷
 keiki iā Kalaimoku nō ‘o Keōpūolani. A ki‘i aku nō
 2.30 ‘o Kamehameha e moe a kō nō ke keiki a Kamehame-
 ha. A ma hope, ha‘alele ‘o Kalaimoku iā Keōpūolani, a lilo
 iā Kūwahine. A ma hope iho o ka ha‘alele ‘ana o
 Kalaimoku iā Keōpūolani, ka‘apuni ihola ‘o Keōpūo-
 lani iā O‘ahu, ‘o *Kapū‘aipo‘opo‘o* ia huaka‘i, ‘o ia
 2.35 ka inoa o ia hele ‘ana. A ho‘i mai a Honolulu i Mauna

- [‘ao‘ao 3]
 Ha‘o. I laila loa‘a ke kāne ‘o Ulumāheihei, ‘o ia ho‘i
 ‘o Hoapilikāne. He ‘umikumumāhā keiki a Keōpūolani.
 ‘O Hoapili nō ke kāne, a ki‘i akula nō ‘o Kamehameha
 e moe a hāpai nō ke keiki, a na Kamehameha nō.
 3.5 Peia ka lilo ‘ana o Keōpūolani i wahine na Ka-
 mehameha. ‘O Hoapili nō ke kāne a make ‘o Kamehame-
 ha, ‘o ia nō ho‘i ka hiki ‘ana mai o nā misionari i
 Hawai‘i nei, ‘o ia kona ho‘okipa ‘ana iā lākou
 ma Hawai‘i nei.

English Language Translation

[page 1]

Lahaina: July 29, 1842

Concerning the birth of Keōpūolani

On the day that the battle of

Kapu‘unoni¹⁸ was begun here [on Maui], that was when

Keōpūolani

- 1.5 was born at Pāpōhaku [at Wailuku, Maui].¹⁹ After that,
 Kiwala‘ō, Kekelaokalani,²⁰
 and Liliha²¹ went to live at Hāna, along with Keōpūolani.
 When Kiwala‘ō sailed to Hawai‘i,
 Keōpūolani remained at Hāna. When Kahekili

- 1.10 came to wage the battle of Kapika‘o²² [at Hāna], Keōpūolani was still at Kapu‘uiki²³ in Hāna. When the war and his stay there ended, Kahekili returned with Keōpūolani to Wailuku and they lived there. Later on, Kahekili sailed with Keōpūolani
- 1.15 to fight on O‘ahu, Ka‘ōpuaki‘iki‘i being the name of that battle.²⁴ [Arriving] at Kaunakahakai, Keōpūolani was settled there. But her stay there was not long before she was sent for and sailed to O‘ahu. The war was quickly won [by Kahekili]. Walia²⁵ was the *ali‘i* who fought against
- 1.20 Kahekili. After the war was over, Keōpūolani stayed with her grandmother Kalola on O‘ahu. She lived there a long time, then returned to Wailuku [on Maui] and lived there until the battle of Ka‘uwa‘upālani²⁶ here [on Maui]. That was a great battle, with Kamehameha
- 1.25 the leader on Hawai‘i’s side and Kalaikūpule the leader on Maui’s side at that time. There were many with Keōpūolani who had learned the lesson of the rout at Keone‘ula‘ula [that they should make their escape because the battle was lost].²⁷ That night Keōpūolani was taken by Kalilikauoha²⁸ to the top of Kūkaemoku,²⁹ accompanied only by Kana‘e.³⁰ When
- 1.30 the battle was over and had been won [by Kamehameha], that was the time that Keōpūolani was taken by Kamehameha. Then Kamehameha, Keōpūolani, and Kalola, the grandmother of Keōpūolani, went to Kaunakahakai [on Moloka‘i]. When their stay there ended,

[page 2]

Kamehameha returned to Hawai‘i, and Keōpūolani went with him.

Koapapa³¹ was the battle that ensued on their return. When that battle

- was won [by Kamehameha], they returned to Kona to stay,
and from Kona
they moved to Keawa'eli [in Hāmākua].³² Keōpūolani was
full-grown when they were
2.5 there, the place where Kamehameha slept with her. That is
how
Keōpūolani became his wife.³³
However, they didn't live together as man and wife:
a prohibition was laid by him [Kamehameha], and they lived
apart, separately,
not together. Only after she had menstruated, did he go to
2.10 sleep with her. That is how she became his wife. Following
that,
Keōpūolani and Kalaimoku³⁴ became lovers.
and after that, Kamehameha traveled to Hilo. There
Keōpūolani and Kalaimoku were married.
That last woman of *kapu* had Kalaimoku as her true
2.15 husband. Kamehameha still required her to sleep with him,
and she
became pregnant by him with a prematurely-born child.
Thereafter, they sailed to O'ahu, and Nu'uanu was the battle
that ensued. After the
battle had been lost [by Kalanikūpule] and won [by
Kamehameha], the premature baby
was born, and Ka'ahumanu became the guardian. That was
2.20 Keōpūolani's first-born. The child did not live long before it
died. They stayed there
until Kamehameha sailed for Kaua'i, but he never arrived
there.
Ka'ie'ie Waho was the name of the expedition. Kalaimoku
was indeed
the true husband of Keōpūolani, but no child was born of
that union.
Then the news was heard of Nāmakehā, that he was fighting
[on Hawai'i], and
2.25 Kamehameha returned to Hawai'i and fought until
Nāmakehā was killed and he offered him up at the heiau

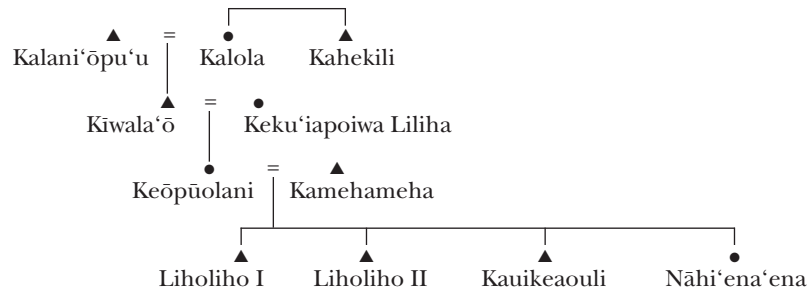
of Kaipalaoa.³⁵ Then Keōpūolani became pregnant with Liholiho, the one who died abroad. Keōpūolani had three children by Kamehameha while she was with Kalaimoku. Kamehameha
 2.30 required her to sleep with him and her children were conceived.
 Later, Kalaimoku left Keōpūolani and went to Kūwahine. After Kalaimoku left Keōpūolani, she made a circuit of O‘ahu, which was called Kapū‘aipo‘opo‘o by name, and she returned to Honolulu, to Mauna Ha‘o.

[page 3]

There she took as husband Ulumāheihei, also called Hoapilikāne. Keōpūolani had fourteen children. Hoapili was really her husband, but Kamehameha required her
 to sleep with him, and she got pregnant and the child was Kamehameha’s.
 3.5 That is how Keōpūolani became the wife of Kamehameha. Hoapili was still the husband until the death of Kamehameha. That indeed was the time when the missionaries came here to Hawai‘i, when she welcomed them here to Hawai‘i.

COMPARISON OF MALO’S ACCOUNT TO OTHER ACCOUNTS

Malo’s account of Keōpūolani is more detailed than other accounts on some points, less detailed on others. He begins with her birth. Keōpūolani was the daughter of Kīwala‘ō, son of Kalani‘ōpu‘u, the *ali‘i nui* (ruler) of Hawai‘i Island, and Kīwala‘ō’s cousin (Keku‘iapoiwa) Liliha. Malo says that Keōpūolani was born at Wailuku, Maui. Her parents then took her to Hāna, and after a few years at Hāna, she was taken by Kahekili, the *ali‘i nui* of Maui, to his court at Wailuku and raised there. This agrees with the accounts of both Richards and Kamakau. Thus, even though her father Kīwala‘ō was the heir to the rule of Hawai‘i Island, she is generally identified as an *ali‘i* of Maui.



Partial Genealogy of Keōpūolani and Her Children

When Kamehameha subsequently conquered Maui in 1790, he gained control of Keōpūolani. He then brought her to Hawai'i Island to become his wife and produce high-ranking heirs for him. Malo's account of this is rather bare. He says that Kamehameha took Keōpūolani captive, along with her grandmother Kalola, after the climactic battle at 'Iao in which he conquered Maui. He took them to Moloka'i for a time, then took Keōpūolani to Hawai'i Island to live with him. By contrast, in Kamakau's and Fornander's accounts, Kalola and Keōpūolani escaped from 'Iao to Moloka'i.³⁶ Kamehameha followed to gain control of Keōpūolani and found that Kalola was dying. He asked Kalola for permission to take charge of her granddaughter Keōpūolani, and she agreed that he should have Keōpūolani after she died. The Kamakau and Fornander accounts show Kamehameha's respect for the older Kalola, while Malo's account does not.

All the accounts describe Keōpūolani as the mother of Kamehameha's three highest ranking children who lived long enough to be important in the history of Hawai'i, Liholiho, Kauikeaouli, and Nāhi'ena'ena. But there are important differences in how they describe Kamehameha's marital relationship with Keōpūolani. According to Kamakau, Keōpūolani was taken by Kamehameha to Hawai'i and cared for there for some years. In 1795, they were *ho'āo* (formally married) at Waikiki on O'ahu, but they did not sleep together at that time.³⁷ Two years later, in 1797, she bore her first child Liholiho, who became Kamehameha II. She bore three more children—the second was still-born, the third was Kauikeaouli born in 1814 and the fourth Nāhi'ena'ena born in 1815. Kamakau describes both Liholiho and

Kauikeaouli as Kamehameha's children. (He doesn't specifically say that of Nāhi'ena'ena.)³⁸ Kamakau also says that Kamehameha did not take Keōpūolani as a regular sleeping partner because of her *kapu*, that he only wanted children of rank by her.³⁹ Later he says that Kamehameha made Ulumāheihei (Hoapili) a husband of Keōpūolani and a parent for the *'ohana kapu mō'i o ke aupuni* (referring to his three high-ranking children).⁴⁰ Kamakau does not give a date for this marriage. Linnekin has assumed that it occurred after the birth of Nāhi'ena'ena.⁴¹

Malo's account is fuller concerning Keōpūolani's children and marriages than Kamakau's. According to Malo, she grew up with Kamehameha on Hawai'i, but they did not ever live together, nor were they sexual partners at first. He was waiting until her first menstruation to sleep with her. Malo's description of her relationship with Kamehameha is a little obscure. He says that Kamehameha slept with her and made her his wahine, but he does not say that they were formally married (*ho'āo*). He uses the term *wahine*, which can mean either wife or unmarried sexual partner, to describe her relationship with Kamehameha. After her union with Kamehameha, she married (*ho'āo*) Kalanimoku (called *Kalaimoku* by Malo) and he became her "true husband" (*kāne i ka 'ili*).⁴² He was her husband for some years, during which Kamehameha slept with her and she had three children by Kamehameha. The first of the children was prematurely-born and died, according to Malo, and the second was given the same name, Liholiho. Richards confirms most of this. He says that Keōpūolani had Kalanimoku as a husband early on, but that she married Kamehameha first and then was permitted to take Kalanimoku as a second husband.⁴³ Like Malo, he says that it was the first child who died, and the second was given the same name Liholiho.

Malo continues his account of Keōpūolani, saying that Kalanimoku left her and took another wife, Kūwahine.⁴⁴ Ulumāheihei then became her husband (*kāne*) and continued as her husband until her death. During that marriage, Kamehameha continued to sleep with Keōpūolani. Richards confirms that Keōpūolani was permitted by Kamehameha to take Ulumāheihei as a husband after Kalanimoku left her.⁴⁵ Malo indicates that Keōpūolani had many children, all by Kamehameha, but the total count of her children according to his account is not clear. In speaking of her second marriage to Ulumāheihei, Malo says

she had 14 children. This could mean that she had 14 children altogether, including the three born during her first marriage, or that she had 14 children during that marriage to Ulumāheihēi, making 17 in all if the three born during her first marriage are added. In either case, this is more than the 11 children born to Keōpūolani counted by Richards, and many more than the three or four children given in other sources (Kamakau, Fornander, and 'Ī'i).⁴⁶

IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING PRE-CHRISTIAN HAWAIIAN SOCIETY

Malo's account has two important implications for our understanding of pre-Christian Hawaiian society. The first concerns the number of children born to high-ranking women. The genealogies published by McKinzie⁴⁷ and historical accounts of Kamakau, Fornander and 'Ī'i list only a few children born to high-ranking women. It is easy to assume that while high-ranking men probably had many women and many children, high-ranking women bore a limited number of children. If we accept Malo's count of 14, or 17, children born to Keōpūolani, compared to the three or four children given elsewhere, then it seems likely that the chiefly genealogies we have are quite incomplete. But we can speculate further as to the reason Keōpūolani bore so many children. Of the many children she bore, only three survived to adulthood. It is quite likely that she bore so many children because so many were still-born or died in early childhood. After the birth of her first surviving child Liholiho in 1797, about 16 years passed before the birth of her second surviving child, Kauikeaouli, in 1814 (according to the dates given by Kamakau).⁴⁸ A good number of her other children probably were conceived after Liholiho in the hope of providing Kamehameha with a second heir and then died young, perhaps as infants.⁴⁹ We know that Kauikeaouli himself nearly died during his birth.⁵⁰ The intriguing question is this: does the fact that so many of her children died represent the common experience of Hawaiian women at that time, the result of introduced Western diseases? Or does it perhaps represent the experience specifically of high-ranking *ali'i* women, the effect of generations of inbreeding which may have caused a high rate of birth defects and infant death? Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to the question.

The second implication of Malo's account concerns the nature of marriage for the highest ranking *ali'i* women, such as Keōpūolani. We know from 'Ī'i's account that Keōpūolani did not live with Kamehameha, unlike his other principal wives. In the period prior to 1810, Kamehameha's compound at Honolulu contained his own houses, plus houses for three of his high-ranking wives. Ka'ahumanu was one, and the other two were probably Kaheiheimālie, and Peleuli.⁵¹ This seems to have been the normal arrangement in the case of married *ali'i*, that women lived in the compound of their husband.⁵² Keōpūolani, however, had her own compound some distance to the east.⁵³ Similarly in the period after 1810, Kamehameha's compound at Kamakahonu in Kailua, Hawai'i Island, contained his own houses, plus houses for Ka'ahumanu, Kaheiheimālie, and Kekāuluohi.⁵⁴ Keōpūolani must have lived elsewhere. Although 'Ī'i does not say exactly where, Kamakau says that she lived at Keauhou, to the south of Kamakahonu.⁵⁵ We presume that Keōpūolani lived separately because of her *kapu moe* which required the respect of others. Although the other *ali'i* probably did not have to prostrate themselves except when her *kapu moe* was proclaimed, they would have had to avoid letting their shadows fall on her or her house and that would have been burdensome if they all lived in the same compound together. 'Ī'i says of the high-ranking female *ali'i* Keakealani that she too was kept apart because of her *kapu moe*.⁵⁶

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why Keōpūolani was allowed to have a "true" husband, as Malo calls him, other than Kamehameha. Kamehameha did not live with her, but according to our reading of Malo's account, he slept with her to produce heirs. This fits with Kamakau's statement:

'A'ole nō i lawe 'o Kamehameha iā Kalanikauika'alaneo i wahine nāna a i hoa moe ho'i nona, akā, ua kapu 'o Keōpūolani, a ua hemo kahi kapa i ka hale 'ē, a ua hemo pū nō ho'i me kahi malo, akā, ua mālama 'o ia i ke kapu o kāna kaikamahine; aia wale nō kona makemake, 'o ka loa'a mai o nā mo'opuna ali'i.⁵⁷

Kamehameha did not take Kalanikauika'alaneo [Keōpūolani] as his wife and sleeping companion, because she was *kapu*, so that one had to remove his *kapa* in another house beforehand, together with his *malo*.

He respected the *kapu* of his daughter [Keōpūolani]; his only desire was to beget *ali'i* descendants [through her] (our translation).

It seems that the relationship of Keōpūolani with her husband Kalanimoku was closer than that with Kamehameha. However, they also did not live in the same compound. Again, that probably was because of her *kapu moe*.

Linnekin has analyzed chiefly marriage as creating a “political economy of love.”⁵⁸ She argues that the ruling male *ali'i* tried to monopolize the highest ranking women in order to produce heirs of the highest rank. He tried to control the sexuality of the high-ranking women in his chiefdom, his sisters or wives, because their husbands were potential rebels against him and their sons would be potential rebels against his heir. But he also had some obligation to give his wives to subordinates who would become their “secondary husbands,” once the wives had produced heirs for him. She argues that the ruling *ali'i* solved this problem by giving his wife to a loyal supporter as a “safe choice.” As an example, she says that late in his life Kamehameha gave Keōpūolani to Ulumāheihei (based on Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*). Malo's account qualifies her analysis. It makes it apparent that Keōpūolani always had a husband besides Kamehameha. Kalanimoku was her husband from the beginning, not just after the birth of Kamehameha's first heir Liholiho. Later he was replaced by Ulumāheihei. Richards' account does not make this so clear, because he does not date the time of Keōpūolani's marriage to Kalanimoku. He does generalize that it was usual for a high-ranking wife to have a second husband:

She was permitted by the king to have another husband. Hers was not a privileged case, however, for nearly all the chief women, especially those who are higher in rank than their husbands, follow the same practice.⁵⁹

We amend Linnekin's analysis of Kamehameha's management of Keōpūolani as follows. Because of her higher rank, Kamehameha did not house Keōpūolani in his compound. However, he still wanted to control her sexuality and one way to do that was to provide her with a husband. The first husband Kalanimoku was a loyal supporter

of Kamehameha, just as Ulumāheihei was later on. Kalanimoku was closely associated with Ka'ahumanu and the two seem to have been the most important political supporters of Kamehameha in the latter half of his reign.⁶⁰ He was, therefore, a safe husband for Kamehameha to give Keōpūolani to, not one who might use her to start a rebellion.

CONCLUSION

Malo's account of Keōpūolani is important for the information it provides about her, which corroborates and extends what was known about her from other sources. We were surprised to find this important manuscript at the Bishop Museum, where it had lain for years, apparently unknown to most researchers. Malo is one of the best known and best regarded of the 19th century Hawaiian writers, so it is especially surprising that an essay by him should have been overlooked. Imagine what other treasures remain to be discovered in the archives that can throw light on Hawai'i's history and culture.⁶¹

NOTES

¹ Samuel M. Kamakau, "Ahahui imi i na mea kahiko o Hawaii nei," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 9 Sept. 1865, 1. See also Malcolm Chun, *Nā Kukui Pio 'Ole: the Inextinguishable Torches, the Biographies of Three Early Native Hawaiian Scholars Davida Malo, S.N. Hale'ole and S.M. Kamakau*. (Honolulu: First People's Productions, 1993) 5.

² Samuel M. Kamakau, "Na olelo pane a S.M. Kamakau," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 24 Oct. 1868, 3.

³ See Malo's translated letter to Mrs. R.P.E. quoted in Malcolm Chun's "Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions," *First Peoples Theology Journal* (2006) vii–viii.

⁴ Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2001) 139.

⁵ The second Hawaiian historical society, given the same name as the first, was formed in 1863. See Chun, *Nā Kukui Pio 'Ole*, 20–21.

⁶ "Ka Mo'olelo o Kamehameha I" and "Ka Mo'olelo o Nā Kamehameha," originally published serially in the newspapers *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa* and now republished as *Ke Kumu Aupuni* (Honolulu: 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, 1996) and *Ke Aupuni Mō'i*, 2001. An English translation of most of this material is found in Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools, 1961)

- ⁷ Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992) 69–79.
- ⁸ Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: T.G. Thrum, 1909 [original in 1843]) 126–27.
- ⁹ Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 210.
- ¹⁰ According to Marin's journal, Kamehameha died on May 8, 1819 and Liholiho did not give the order for men and women to eat together, thus ending the 'ai kapu, until November of that year. At the same time he sent a message to O'ahu for men and women to eat together which reached Honolulu on November 6, 1819. See Agnes Conrad, ed., *The Letters and Journals of Francisco de Paula Marin* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P and HHS 2002) 232–34 (printed in one volume with Ross H. Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin, A Biography by Ross H. Gast*).
- ¹¹ Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 213–14.
- ¹² Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 8.
- ¹³ William Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani: Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1825) 18; Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 246; Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 8.
- ¹⁴ Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 1996 and *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 2001; John Papa ʻĪʻi, "Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii," published serially in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, published later in translation as *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959); Abraham Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*, vol. II (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing Co., 1996 [original in 1879]).
- ¹⁵ Esther Mookini, "Keopuolani, Sacred Wife, Queen Mother, 1778–1823," *HJH*, vol. 32 (1998) 1–24. Marjorie Sinclair, "The Sacred Wife of Kamehameha I: Keopuolani," *HJH*, vol. 5 (1971) 3–23.
- ¹⁶ Malo's Hawaiian has been altered by adding diacritical marks and modifying the punctuation and word divisions to conform to modern usage. In cases where the spelling (i.e. the appropriate diacritical marking) is not clear, an assumption has been made as to the appropriate modern spelling and the word has been italicized.
- ¹⁷ "a Ka meka meha" changed to "Kamehameha."
- ¹⁸ The battle of Kapu'unoni that Malo refers to is apparently one that took place on Maui, since he follows the name with the word nei, indicating it was near to where he was staying, which was probably Lahaina According to Richards (*Memoir of Keopuolani*, 2), Keōpūolani was born in 1778, so this battle was probably a part of the war called Kakanilua on Maui between the warriors of Hawai'i under Kalani'ōpu'u and those of Maui under Kahekili. It is not the battle by the name Kapu'unoni referred to by Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 222) on Moloka'i where Peleioholani revenged himself on the *ali'i* of Moloka'i. That battle occurred about 1765 according to Fornander (*Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*, 289), well before the birth of Keōpūolani.
- ¹⁹ Richards (*Memoir of Keopuolani*, 2) confirms that Pāpōhaku is a place within the district of Wailuku and that Keōpūolani was born there. There is presently a park by that name at Wailuku, Maui according to Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, *Place Names of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1974) 180.

- ²⁰ This is probably the Kekelaokalani who was a half-sister of Kahekili (they had the same mother, Keku'iapoianui, and different fathers), and she was the mother of Peleuli, one of the wives of Kamehameha according to Fornander (*Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*, 320) and Edith McKenzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies*, vol. 2 (Lā'ie, Hawai'i: Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, 1986) 71.
- ²¹ Liliha is one of the names of Keku'iapoia, the mother of Keōpūolani. She was named for her mother Keku'iapoia, who was also the mother of Kamehameha.
- ²² This is the battle in which the supposedly impregnable hill fortress of Ka'uiki was successfully taken by Kahekili, according to Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 67–68). He gives another version of the name, Kaumupika'o.
- ²³ It is not entirely clear where Kapu'uiki is. Perhaps it is a ridiculing name given to the fortress of Ka'uiki by Kahekili after he took it.
- ²⁴ According to Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 88) this is the name given by Kahekili to the seaway taken by his war canoes from Moloka'i to Waikiki for the conquest of O'ahu.
- ²⁵ Walia was a name given to Kahahana, the ruler of O'ahu, because of his sleeping with low ranking women, thereby damaging his rank *kapu* according to Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 79).
- ²⁶ This is another name for the battle of Kepaniwai at 'Iao. See Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 102) for this name, spelled in that edition Ka'ua'upali. We have spelled it here as "Ka'uwa'upālani" in accordance with Kamakau's explanation of its meaning as "clawing up the cliffs" in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 13 Apr. 1867, "... a ua auhee aku la na kanaka, a alualu aku la na koa lanakila, a luku nui aku la i ka poe pio e pii aku ana i ka pali, me ka wawalu ana i ka lima a he luku nui loa ... Ua kapaia hoi keia kaua ana o Kauwaupali [printed as Ka'ua'upali on page 102 of *Ke Kumu Aupuni*], Iao, o [sic] me Kepaniwai." The meaning of 'uwa'u is the same as *wawalu*. For the meaning *pālani*, cf. Andrews' definition, "to dig slightly."
- ²⁷ The Hawaiian phrase *na'auao i ka lā i he'e ai iā Keone'ula'ula* may be an 'olelo no'ea (proverb). It probably refers to a famous battle by the name of Keone'ula'ula at Pōhakumane'o in Hāmākua on the island of Hawai'i during the reign of Keakealani, several generations before Kamehameha. The gist of the phrase seems to be that the wise person knows to flee before it is too late when the other side is winning the battle.
- ²⁸ Kalilikauoha was a daughter of Kahekili according to Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 18).
- ²⁹ Kūkaemoku is commonly called by the English name 'Iao Needle.
- ³⁰ Kana'e is called an 'elele (representative) of Kahekili by Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 55).
- ³¹ Koapapa is the name of Kamehameha's battle with Keōuakū'ahu'ula on the east side of Hāmākua district on Hawai'i according to Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 106).
- ³² Keawa'eli is a bay on the west side of the cape of Kauhola in Hāmākua, Hawai'i.

See John R.K. Clark, *Hawai'i Place Names: Shores, Beaches, and Surf Sites* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2002).

³³ *Kāne* and *wahine* can mean either husband and wife or a pair of unmarried sexual partners. See page 3 of Malo's manuscript in Hawaiian and English translation.

³⁴ The *ali'i* in question is most often known today as Kalanimoku. In the early 19th century he was the premier executive officer under Kamehameha, the *kālaimoku*, and he seems to have been often referred to as Kālaimoku because of his office. We have used the spelling Kalaimoku here however, because "kalai" seems to have been a common alternative for "kalani" in names of *ali'i*. For example, in page 2, line 25, Malo writes Kalanikūpule as Kalaikūpule.

³⁵ Kaipalaoa was a *luakini heiau* in Hilo, located at the bottom of what is now Waiānuenue Avenue. See John Stokes, *Heiau of the Island of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991) 154.

³⁶ Abraham Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*, 237; Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 102–03.

³⁷ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i*, 7.

³⁸ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i*, 2, 7, 12.

³⁹ Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 190. See footnote 55 and associated Kamakau quotation in the text.

⁴⁰ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i*, 140.

⁴¹ Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queen and Women of Consequence* (Ann Arbor: U P of Michigan, 1990) 107.

⁴² The Pukui and Elbert dictionary translates *kāne i ka 'ili* as "true husband, literally, husband in the skin." Presumably, this distinguishes a man who is a sexual partner from a brother-in-law, also called *kāne*, but not a sexual partner.

⁴³ Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani*, 11–13.

⁴⁴ This must have been before 1809, because Kalanimoku was married to Kūwahine by then according to John Papa 'Ī'i in "Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 17 July 1869. See also the translation, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959) 29.

⁴⁵ Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani*, 14.

⁴⁶ Kamakau (*Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 189) does say that most of Kamehameha's children died before he did, but he does not specifically say that of Keōpūolani's children.

⁴⁷ Edith Kawelo McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies*, vols. I and II, (La'ie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1983).

⁴⁸ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i*, 7.

⁴⁹ We know from Malo's account that one child was born before the surviving Liholiho II, then another child that died young was born before her marriage to Ulumāheihēi. Nāhi'ena'ena was born after Kauikeaouli in 1815, just four years before the death of Kamehameha. That leaves nine (or 12) other children according to Malo, most of them probably born between Liholiho II and Kauikeaouli.

- ⁵⁰ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 12–13.
- ⁵¹ ‘Ī‘ī, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 7 Aug. 1869. See also the translation *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 64 and map on page 65 drawn by Rockwell after ‘Ī‘ī’s description. The arrangement of Kamehameha’s “palace” (his compound) is also described by Alexander Ross in *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Columbia River* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1849) 37, as containing the houses of three of Kamehameha’s “queens” (principal wives).
- ⁵² ‘Ī‘ī, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Jan. 1870 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 94) describes a similar compound containing the houses of several wives for Kuihelani, an important official under Kamehameha.
- ⁵³ ‘Ī‘ī, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Dec. 1869 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 89 and map on page 90 drawn by Rockwell after ‘Ī‘ī’s description).
- ⁵⁴ ‘Ī‘ī, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 26 Feb. 1870 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 119–20).
- ⁵⁵ Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 12. Kamakau writes of Keōpūolani’s residence at the time that Kauikeaouli was born.
- ⁵⁶ ‘Ī‘ī, “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 10 Apr. 1869 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 159).
- ⁵⁷ Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 190.
- ⁵⁸ Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence*, 101–08.
- ⁵⁹ Richards, *Memoir of Keopūolani*, 13–14.
- ⁶⁰ ‘Ī‘ī, “Kanaenae Aloha no Kaimihaku,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 19 Dec. 1868; “Na Hunahuna o ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 Sept. 1869 (see also *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 49, 141); Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 152, 168–69; Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī*, 34; Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 60.
- ⁶¹ We wish to acknowledge and thank Puakea Nogelmeier and John Charlot for their helpful comments on the modernized Hawaiian version and translation of Malo’s essay. The responsibility for any errors or infelicities in the final version is ours.